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Moguex

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OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

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THE ANDEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 84*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1922; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

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ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[1] It is also possible to trace the acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[1] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1878; and Castelvi, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1938; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38 Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

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The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers.

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco.

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguex*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga.

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguex*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas).

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguex*

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101 from the *Páez*, the *Páez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

241 This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
133 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
132 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

[127] [4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [1] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker, Cuaiquer, Quayquer, Coaiquer,*[2] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades, Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco *in* Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual, Mallama, Túcurres, (Tulcan), Zapuys, Iles, Guaimatal, Funes, Chapal, Males, Piales, Pupiales, Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[1] Castellví, 1894; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Otero, 1938, 1939.
[2] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–936, 967–968.)

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distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atris, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Iscancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajanzangua*, *Mocoxonduque*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macaxamata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortiz, this volume, p. 911.)

Popayanense.—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they lacked chiefs.

Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the *Guamza* (*Guamsa*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palace*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[1] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza;* (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara;* (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambi*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[1] Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2:186; Otero, 1938.

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Yalcón and *Timaná* in an area delimited by the high crests of the Cordillera Central on the west, the snowcapped peak of Huila on the north, the valley of the Páez River on the east, and the region of the Río de la Plata and the Moscopán River on the South (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32), although some groups lived in the valley of the Cauca River bordering the Cordillera on the west (Otero, 1939).

Pijao.—The *Pijao* (*Pinao*) were the strongest and most warlike neighbors of the *Páez*. They inhabited the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central from La Plata to Ibagué, which included the region of the Río de la Plata and the left side of the Páez River, but extended to near Buga on the western slope of the Cordillera Central. The Páez River formed their frontier with the *Páez* and was their southwestern limit. They extended northward to the territory of the *Quimbaya*, and one of their divisions lived in the Cauca Valley, near Buga. (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 3, ch. 53, p. 330; vol. 4, ch. 24, p. 156; Ordoñez de Ceballos, 1938, chap. 28.) The *Pijao* were bordered on the north by the *Quimbaya* and *Panche*, on the east by the peoples occupying the hot valley of the Magdalena River, on the south by the tribes of the upper Putumayo and Caquetá Rivers, and on the west by the peoples already mentioned and by the *Gorrón* and *Lile*, near the Pacific Ocean. Near them in the Huila Plains were the *Tama*.

SOURCES

Conquest and Colonial Periods.—Acosta (1848), especially for the *Quillacinga*; Aguado (1916), an account of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, and *Anabeima* written about 1570 by a Franciscan Friar; Andagoya (1892); Aragón (1930); Arroyo (1907); Belalcázar (Benalcázar) (1936), a letter written in 1549 (see also Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38); Buenaventura (1936); on Belalcázar's itinerary; Castellanos (1852); Cieza de León (1880, 1932); Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al Adelantado Capitán don Sebastián de Benalcázar (1936); Cuervo, A. B. (1894); Descobar (*in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, vol. 2); Espejo de Variedades (*in* Ternaux Compans, 1840), a soldier's account of 15 years at Quito and Popayán, written in 1575; García Borrero (1935 a, 1935 b), on Huila; Guerra F. (1942), on the *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*; Informe de Misioneros (*in* Cuervo, 1894, sec. 2, vol. 4, pp. 248–78, 500); Jijón y Caamaño (1936–38, 1939, 1940–41); Olano (1910); Ordoñez de Ceballos (1938); Otero d'Costa (1935 a, 1935 *b*); Oviedo y Valdés (1851–55); Piedrahita (1688); Posada (1910); Relaciones geográficas de Indias (1897, vols. 3, 4); Relación del Arzbispo (1910); Robledo (1936–38); Rodriguez (1684); Silvestre (1927), a manuscript dated 1789; Simón (1882–92), accounts written in 1623 and later; Tascon (1938); Velasco (1840, 1841–44).

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P 113 **Contemporary descriptions.**—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Brisson (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Oroseo (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortíz (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanaca* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

LANGUAGES

P 197 175 Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:113.]

P 197 But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

Chibchan family
- *Chibcha-Aruaco* group
  - *Aruaco* subgroup
    - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
- *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group
  - *Páez* subgroup
    - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
    - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguex* (*Guambia*), *Coconuco*, and *Guanaca*
    - *Pijao, Panche, Quimbaya, Pantágora**
- *Cochean* (*Kamsá*) family
  - *Quillacinga* subgroup (Castellví)
- *Tucanoan* family
  - *Pasto* subgroup†

P0 [197]

*Castellví, 1934; *Jijón y Caamaño*, 1936; and Otero, 1938.
†Rivet cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cuaiquer* language in the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

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P 197 Po [197]

All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguex* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

P 175 648

After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

Po 175 648 [411]

The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguex*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

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[75 648 [266] [727] by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

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The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor.

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether.

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands.

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated,

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in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

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The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

P [161]

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

Po [175] [648]

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanense* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xiquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ✓ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Today the special industry is the extraction of oil from the "mil pesos" palm. Hunting and war are the principal occupations of the men. They involve very important rites conducted by the captain or cacique, assisted by a deputy or second in command of a group. These rites are performed as follows (Albis, 1934):

In preparing for an attack on the *Wiloto*, the deputy captain takes his men to hunt animals, while the women prepare chicha and "caguana." Upon their return, the hunters adorn themselves, dance, and drink chicha, and then go to their houses. The following day they catch "conga" ants, whose bite causes fever, and place them in a palm-leaf mat so that their heads stick out. The captain's wife picks up the mat and lets the ants bite her husband on his legs to make him strong, on his breast to make him brave, on his face to prevent him from sleeping, and on the chin to make him silent. The captains then make the ants bite the back and legs of the women, so that young *Wiloto* prisoners will be diligent helpers. Afterward the captains each eat three ants mixed with water. If they have pains, the hunt will be successful. After this, the captain, carrying a turtle shell, speaks to the women, admonishing and scolding them, and then retires to a separate house, where he holds a conference with his men, forecasting the probable outcome of the fight and exhorting the men to avenge those who may be killed by the *Wiloto*. That night they hold ritual dances and mimic animals. Two balsa-wood images are placed at the door of the main building and two Indians must pierce them with their spears while running. These two Indians are whipped after their feat by all those present. At dawn they plant a pole in the middle of the yard or square, pour water around it, and dance there until they have made mud, and then spend the day gathering food for the departing warriors. In order to be strong and to capture many young *Wiloto*, each warrior has to place an arm in a bag full of "yuco" ants until it is thoroughly bitten. Upon departing, the captain gives his wife a knotted hemp cord (a kind of quipu). She unties a knot every night and thus knows when to expect him back and on what day the fight will take place. The day of the battle she remains in the hut where the hunters stayed the first day; otherwise they will be unable to capture any *Wiloto* children. With other women she waits there 3 days for the men to return and then, after leaving there an "araraita," a palm branch, the women return to their homes to prepare more chicha. If the expedition is successful, the men return with great demonstrations of joy, but if it fails, they hit everything and bemoan their luck. The captain's principal wife upbraids her husband. After a community meal, all go home and resume their occupations.

Menstruating women throughout this area remain in a special house weaving hemp. They may have no visitors. At the end of the period, they bathe and return to their dwellings.

At childbirth, a woman must remain at home 3 months, while her husband stays in his hammock, refraining from labor and dieting lest his child die. After 3 months the parents anoint themselves and child with "jagua" fruit and resume normal life.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOGUEX AND PÁEZ

Although the *Moguex* and *Páez* have distinct territories and different dialects, their ethnology may be described together because of the great similarity of their economy with its agricultural basis, their social organization, and their general culture.

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Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 [178] [433] [273] **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 476 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

[782] [273] 241 412 407 492 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 [177] **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

[438] [251] 574 431 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 136 231 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 [415] [177] **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or *Páez*. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

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Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [554] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out [778] with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver [352] money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [415] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [353] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [354] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [524] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- [283] boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 404 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of 286 a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the 249 cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

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Moguex

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, *bottom, right*); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

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TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

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DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguex* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, *in* Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

291 302 [757] [825] [291] 301

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguex* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

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Moguex

291 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at
177 the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with
[293] wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of
[415] hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

When working, the *Pdez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market,
[292] they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash,
[482] and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguex*. In traveling, a
[854] shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin.
[292] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Pdez* and *Moguex* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven
[462] strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who
[292] prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road.
[824] Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique)
283 is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

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PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* Páez Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

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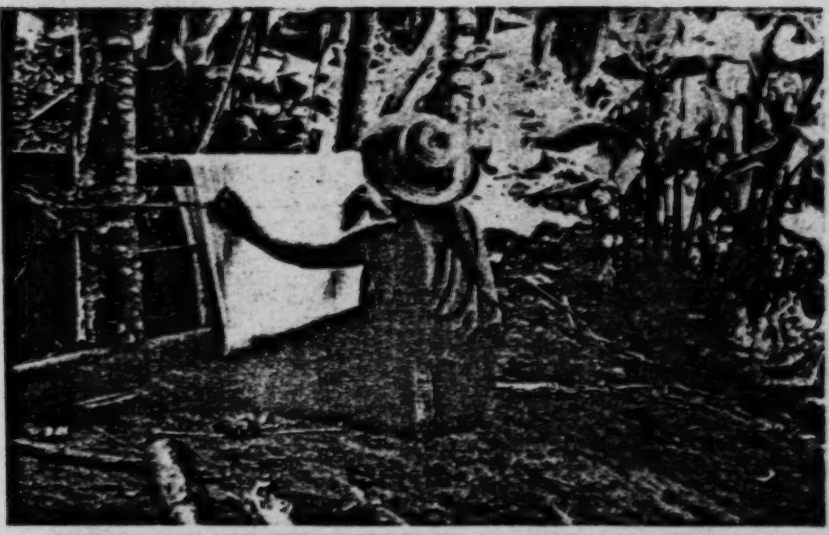

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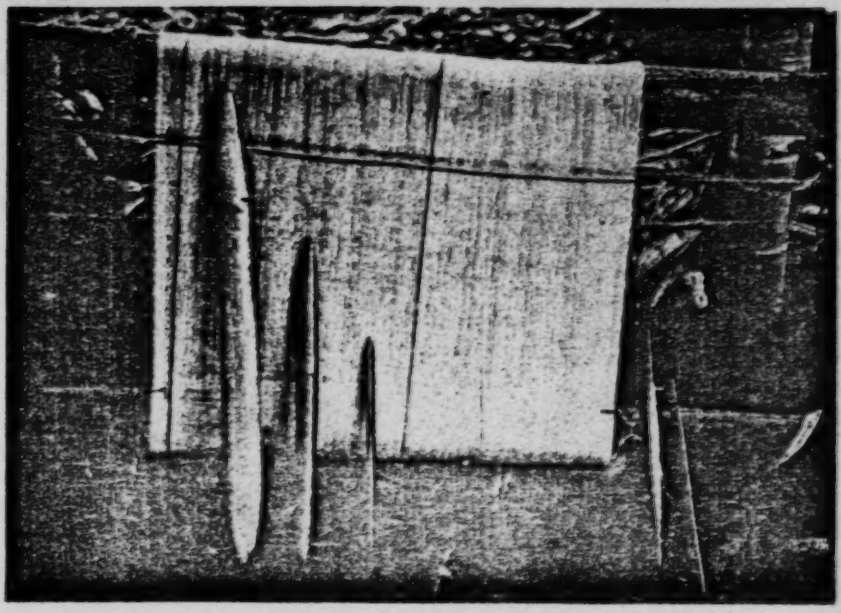

PLATE 186.—**Páez weaving.** *Top:* Woman weaving a woolen skirt. *Bottom:* Loom and weaving utensils. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942B]

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

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PLATE 188.—**Quillacinga musicians.** *Top:* Musicians and banner carrier at Siburdoy dressed for fiesta. *Bottom:* Musicians dressed in ordinary clothes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

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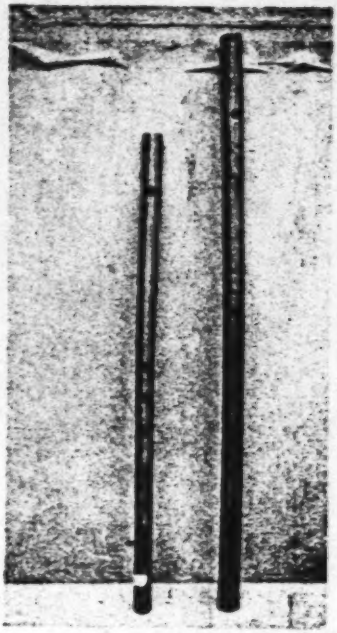

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PLATE 189.—**Páez and Quillacinga musical instruments.** *Top: Páez* drums. *Center (left: Quillacinga* panpipes. *Bottom (left): Quillacinga* vibration instruments of turtle shell. *Bottom (right): Quillacinga* flutes. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942-E]

7:Hernández de Alba E-S/H(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

142
291
438

142
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361
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PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 191.—**Páez markets in Tierradentro.** *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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415 ←

142
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516 →

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516 →

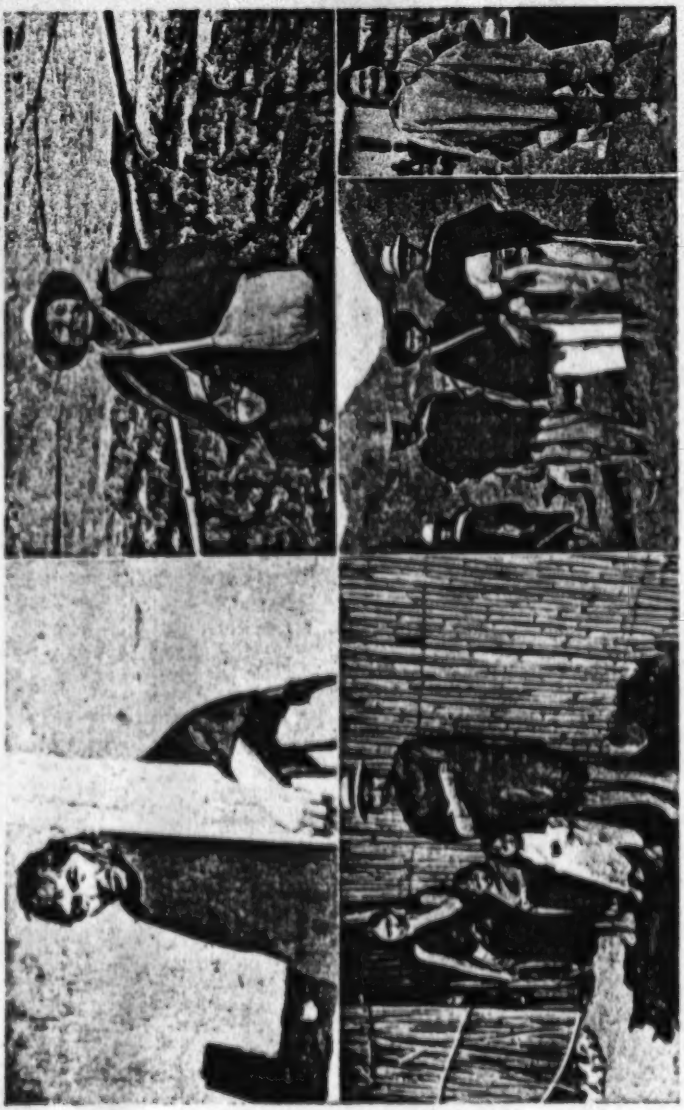

PLATE 102.—Pira types. *Top (left)*: *Pira* man, Tierradentro. *Top (right)*: Woman with necklaces and bags woven of wool and bast fibers, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left)*: Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (center)*: Indians, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (right)*: Man at Inzá, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - H)

Hernández de Alba E-5,1 (no date) 1948 · SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained.

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war.

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River.

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade.

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood.

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, *top*). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for

?:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top*, *left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba E-6/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5//(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

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Moguex

The graves were "large and deep," and chiefs were buried with some of their wives and with food and chicha (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32).

In Colonial times, according to Del Castillo, the *Páez* removed a dying person from his hut but burned the house if anyone died in it. They had given up cremation, however, and buried in the earth, building a fence around the grave. Today, they cover the corpse with a white shroud and place it in the middle of the house with candles and flowers. Here it is watched over one night by relatives and friends, and then buried in a cemetery, where each relative tosses some earth into the grave saying, "Go with God." The mourners then bathe in the river without disrobing, and in the evening hold a banquet with chicha, sancocho (vegetable stew), meat, and tortillas. For 9 days a cross, a container of water, and a candle must be kept on the deceased's bed, the water being kept there so that the soul may drink. The relatives pray every night. A month after the death, a shaman purifies the house. The relatives and friends kill a pig, cut it lengthwise in two halves, one for the shaman, the other for the ceremonial banquet. The shaman sweeps the house floor with the pig's legs and some special branches, which are later buried. He chews coca, says some unintelligible words, and spits leaves on the house walls. The residents and guests then enter the house for the final proof of purification. The shaman, standing in the center of the house, gives a dog half a tortilla. If the dog does not die, he divides the other half among those present. He does the same with a piece of cooked meat, and if the dog still does not die, he blows chicha in all directions in the hut, and then divides what remains with those present. The hut and food are then declared clean The food is then eaten and much chicha drunk.

The modern burial customs of the *Moguex* differ somewhat from those of the *Páez*. The former dance for 9 days before and after burying a dead child. Because of the special ceremonies for adults, young Indians gather and prepare wood to be burned at their own funerals. When an adult dies, relatives and friends bring wood, food, and money to the house, and work for his family, who pray and weep for 3 days over the body. On the fourth day, they carry the body in a procession to the cemetery. Upon passing a house or inn where the deceased was accustomed to take chicha, they stop and drink. The burial procedure is like that of the *Páez*. Back at the house, they purify the objects used by the deceased over the fire, and leave his clothes and the hide he used as a bed at the river 9 days, after which they may be used. Meanwhile, the guests remain with the deceased's family, helping them. On the 9th day, they extinguish all lights and go to the nearest hill to mourn, while a shaman remains in the house to catch the soul of the deceased. He chews coca, spits it in all directions, and beats around with sticks to make the soul come out. Then he lights

7:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span-
[648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone
[532] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs,
[764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it
727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later. [114] As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes 727 (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the [314] heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

7tHernández de Alba E-5,Y (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532 [3/4]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "fotutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Pdez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Mass, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533 [177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances; most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Gueyo coo, a dance to ask for money.
Vito coo, a dance of the rod or stick.
Xsita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.
Onsa coo, a dance of rats.
Imegnuei coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.
Ech covi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.
Bel covi coo, a dance for great festivities.
Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.
Itsa bó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, per- [769] formed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast [462] days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7tHernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they won— 175

shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes). 771 776 [756]

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama.. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[13] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[14] 773 776

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly. 776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821]

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life. 775

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries. 754 177

[13] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors. [669]

[14] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame. [114]

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Moguex

754 upon them by the missionaries. The power to do evil is not limited to the witches, but is possessed by anyone who entertains a momentary feeling of envy, and to women, who may not walk over a stick or a cord stretched on the ground. Contact with women during their menstruation or during the days following childbirth causes the "mokokoy" to persecute the men and make them ill.

825 Animals possess the power to prognosticate evil. A document written in 1730 [14] tells that an Indian killed a rooster because he had crowed before daybreak, and said, "Rooster, you are forecasting my death, but I shall kill you first." They believe the same thing when certain birds sing. For example, the call of an owl at midnight brings death to someone. And certain small birds called "ulchik" and others called "bich" warn whomever hears their singing that he will meet with disaster. The box turtle follows people warning them that they are going to die.

825 Del Castillo says that the Indians will not strike white dogs, so that they will not be bitten by them when they enter the future life.

776 The belief in spirits (kl'iumb) is quite general. Among these spirits is the "pitsuala" which persecutes people, makes them ill, and even kills them. The rainbow, or "Etskituns," causes a rash to break out all over the body of anyone who ventures out while the rainbow shines, and the drizzle that generally accompanies the rainbow will harm a person who gets wet in it if he does not bathe immediately. When the rainbow appears, they stay indoors, and blow or spit tobacco in its direction.

776 They believe that the lagoon on the snowcapped peak, Huila, is charmed, and that if they try to go near it wind and hail storms rise. Supernatural evil forces are supposed to be present during many social activities, such as dancing, meetings, funerals, house building, and bridge construction. When a bridge is built, two Indians beat the water constantly to drive away evil spirits. When traveling on the mountains they place small stones or coins on top of some large natural rock to assure a successful trip and to avoid angering the spirit of the mountain.

Sometimes these spiritual forces assume a bodily form, as in the case of the fireflies, which bring diseases or which may be wrapped in Santa María leaves and placed in the path of an intended victim. Most feared are the ghosts of the dead, which consequently are the most propitiated. The *Moguex* and the *Páez* ask their permission to dance, and honor them in a special rite, which blends old beliefs with new religious concepts. Thus, offerings are made to the souls during the first days of November, or whenever the curate is able to visit the Indian village. Each person offers some products from his farm, in-

[14] Statement made by Javier de Orosco y Cuellar in a lawsuit by the Indians of Tobalma for the possession of land. From the ecclesiastical files of Belalcázar, or Páez.

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Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.

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Moguex

requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cura), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumares," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calarcá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arnotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff Not processed]

cabildo--a community council
captain--a community chief
egg--a unit of weight which is more or less equivalent to a chicken's egg
macanero--the name given to one who is required to give one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for general work in the village
mingas--meetings for collective work
mohanes--shamans

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[Information on communal labor forces as forms of required work levies will be found in category 651.]